

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER:

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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OUR PROCEEDINGS AND PROSPECTS.

THE commencement of another year (and, with it, of another volume of this journal) affords us a suitable opportunity of reviewing the course of anti-slavery exertion, and of exhibiting in a few words, both an epitome of what has been done, and an indication of the progress which has been made. We are the rather induced to do this, because it is desirable that our friends should know how far the organization and machinery which they are called upon, at some cost to sustain, are worthy of their support, and conducive to their end.

We proceed, then, to notice the principal matters to which the efforts of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee have been directed during the past year. And first, of those which relate more directly to Great Britain.

At the commencement of the year, the attention of the Committee had been already fixed on those mining associations in Cuba and Brazil (consisting almost exclusively of a British proprietary) which hold extensive property in slaves. Much consideration was given to the question whether, under the consolidated slave-trade act of 1824, the parties thus implicated in illegal transactions could be successfully prosecuted; but it was ultimately deemed more advisable to draw the attention of the imperial legislature to the subject. Lord Brougham, accordingly, at the request of the Committee, brought the subject forward in the upper house on the 5th of October, in a speech of great clearness and power, setting forth his decided opinion of the illegality of the transactions in question. The speech of the noble and learned lord is known to have produced a powerful impression, not only on the house generally, but on several of her majesty's ministers in particular; and, although the government have as yet expressed no opinion on the subject, there is reason to believe that, if the present law shall be found inadequate to prevent the purchase and holding of slaves by British subjects, an extension of it may be obtained.

As closely connected with this topic, we may next mention that, in the course of the past year, the Committee have taken an important and influential step in relation to the numerous other ways in which British subjects and British capital are, more or less directly, engaged in the slave-trade. Evidence of this fact having largely accumulated on them, on the 20th September, they presented a petition to both houses of parliament, containing allegations which were admitted on all hands to be of the gravest nature

and to deserve, if indeed they could be substantiated, the parliamentary inquiry which the petitioners prayed for. The Committee have only to wish—and they will persevere in entreating—that they may be taken at their word.

Much of the attention of the Committee has been directed during the past year to the condition of British India, and the extensive prevalence of slavery there. In order to ascertain the truth on a matter so tenaciously disputed, and to diffuse authentic information on a matter so little understood, a pamphlet,* was prepared under their direction, from a full investigation of the parliamentary papers; and they are happy to know that the wide circulation of this well-digested tract, has gone far towards preparing the public for practical and decisive exertion. In the course of the year they presented on this subject likewise a petition to both houses of parliament, and they concerted measures with their friend and fellow-worker, Dr. Lushington, for the introduction by him of a legislative measure. Disappointed in this design however, by the tardy production of necessary papers, and the abrupt dissolution of parliament, they have been doing every thing, as they hope, to prepare for an effective movement in the ensuing session. The Committee have, by deputation, pressed the subject on the attention of both the premier and the present governor-general of India. In this connexion it may be stated also, that the continuance of slavery in Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, and Wellesley, dependencies of the British crown in the east, was brought by the Committee, both by memorial and by deputation, under the notice of Lord John Russell and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, during the existence of the late administration, with much probability of a beneficial result.

In the West Indies, while the Committee have had to rejoice over the immense and continually multiplying benefits of freedom to the emancipated classes, and the unequivocal evidence that the agricultural prosperity of these colonies, by whatever other causes it may have been temporarily affected, has not been injured by the measure of emancipation, they have also found work to do. The course pursued by the legislative bodies in the British West Indies has been anything but satisfactory. Attention has been perpetually required to the partial and oppressive character of the enactments adopted; and the recent legislation in the island of Jamaica, in particular, has been so extremely faulty, that the Committee have directed a special memorial upon it to be prepared, which is now in readiness to be submitted to Lord Stanley.

More particularly, however, has the watchfulness of the Committee been exercised by the restless and reckless eagerness with which the West Indians have been pushing their schemes of immigration. They took an active part in endeavours to warn their fellow-countrymen against the delusive representations by which too many, after all, were reduced to misery and death in Jamaica; and they have some satisfaction in knowing that the emigration of Europeans to the West Indies is now condemned, even by those who have most zealously promoted it. They have watched with much anxiety the progress of the experiment which has been commenced within the past year, of encouraging the emigration of Africans from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and they presented to Lord John Russell, then colonial minister, a memorial on the abuses to which it is liable. Their eye is also steadily fixed on the project, which is pursued with unwearied assiduity, of establishing a system of emigration to the same quarter from the coast of Africa generally—a measure which, although called emigration, they cannot but consider identical with the slave-trade.

In turning to foreign countries, the Committee first advert to the United States, in which, without any agency of theirs (for the visit of Mr. Sturge, which, it is gratifying to say, was an eminently successful one, was private, and not official), but with their hearty good wishes, they are happy to know that the cause of abolition is making rapid progress. The only matter in which they have found opportunity to adopt any proceedings connecting them with the republic relates to the Mendians captured in the *Amistad*, whose return to their native land they have had the pleasure of facilitating by communications with her Majesty's secretary for foreign affairs. The Committee are bound gratefully to acknowledge the handsome manner in which Lord Aberdeen has received and acted on their communications.

Next to the United States, the eyes of the Committee rest anxiously on France. They have in various ways rendered what encouragement they might to their estimable fellow-labourers in

* Slavery and the Slave-trade in British India.

that kingdom; and, although the progress of the question there may be momentarily obstructed, it is satisfactory to be assured that, by circumstances which cannot be controlled, the measure of emancipation must press itself irresistibly forward.

In Holland the Committee have continued to sow their seed, and they are cheered with the prospect of a speedy harvest. During a recent journey undertaken in that country by Messrs. Alexander and Seoble, public opinion on the general question of immediate and unconditional emancipation was found to have made very satisfactory progress; and there is no reason to think that the more difficult points involved in the choice of a practical measure will not shortly be overcome.

At the commencement of the year Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen were in Spain, for the awakening of anti-slavery sentiment in that ancient monarchy. The immediate and subsequent effects of their journey are of considerable promise, and highly adapted to combine with the proceedings of the British government, which has demanded the release of all slaves introduced into the Spanish colonies in violation of the treaty of 1817. It may be expected that the abolition of slavery will be introduced into the Cortes by an influential member of that body. To this it is gratifying to add, that the sensation which has been produced in Spain has extended itself to Cuba, where movements of the highest importance have originated. To save slavery, a strong demonstration has been made in that island in favour of the actual suppression of the slave-trade; and an impression exists that slavery itself cannot long be preserved. One of our French opponents has epigrammatically, but justly said, that "Cuba is not an island, but a system;" and movements there cannot but exert an extensive influence.

Scarcely less important than Cuba is Brazil. On the slavery and slave-trade of this empire, of which so little has been hitherto known, important light has been thrown by Mr. Pilkington, who spent several months as a traveller in it, and whose letters in the *Reporter* are of the deepest interest. Many thousands of anti-slavery tracts were prepared by him at Rio de Janeiro, and put into circulation. Here also active elements are permanently at work, and a few enlightened and patriotic individuals are becoming the parents of an enlightened and influential public opinion.

We close this review with referring to the Levant, where the efforts directed against the Greek, the Turkish, and the Moorish slave-trade, have not been fruitless. In particular a most praiseworthy example has been set by the Bey of Tunis, in taking measures for the immediate suppression of the slave-trade—it may be hoped, for the ultimate abolition of slavery—within his dominions.

On the whole it may safely be said, that the Committee have not been either inactive or unsuccessful. How full of work their hands are made by the proper execution of such proceedings as these we have briefly referred to can be known only to themselves; but they trust enough has been made apparent to satisfy their friends that they are at all events a working body, and not undeserving of the support they ask for. As to their success, if, in relation to the vastness of their object, it were to be reckoned much smaller than they consider it, it would be enough to show that they have not laboured in vain. It is therefore enough to encourage them to persevere. It is the more encouraging, because whatever success they have is solid and permanent. It is progress in a way in which the only movement is onward, and in which there can be no retrogression. It is progress tending always to an acceleration of its own pace, and furnishing a constant exemplification of the familiar phrase—*vires acquirit eundo*. It is progress in the diffusion of knowledge which will never be forgotten, and in the kindling of just and benevolent sentiment which will never be extinguished. It is progress in engaging willing coadjutors, not reluctant ones; and towards an end which is sure to arrive. The world cannot be going *backwards* in such a cause; nor in such a cause can the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee be deserted by its friends.

HOLLAND: ANTI-SLAVERY DISCUSSION.

We regard the insertion of three articles on the liberation of the slaves in America in the *Handelsblad*, a newspaper published at Amsterdam, as a circumstance in no small degree favourable to the great cause of emancipation. We write this advisedly, notwithstanding the object of the remarks contained in these papers is to paint in dark colours the conduct of our countrymen or countrywomen who are seeking the abolition of slavery, and the actual results of freedom in the British colonies.

Truth does not fear investigation, but injustice and wickedness cannot bear this test. We therefore rejoice in the opportunity afforded us of advocating the one, and endeavouring to expose the deformity of that hideous system which is only endured by civilized people, because it has hitherto been too much hidden from their view.

Before making any observations of our own on the various topics noticed in the *Handelsblad*, we shall insert remarks contained in a letter from Holland, and written by one "who feels a very lively interest in every thing which concerns those multitudes of human beings, who are still held in ignorance and bondage."

"The *Handelsblad*, in which the three articles on slavery alluded to have appeared, has a great circulation, and exercises a good deal of influence, especially on the mercantile classes. You will, however, observe, that, although some ability has been

shown in writing these articles, which (though from another hand) being placed at the head of the paper, are evidently in unison with the sentiments of the Editor, they have many very weak points, of which a triumphant refutation will be no very difficult matter. In the first place, the writer complains of the efforts making by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch West India colonies, and boldly asserts, that neither this nor any other society, had any effect in procuring the emancipation in the British colonies, but that this result was solely owing to the £20,000,000 sterling paid to the planters by the government, to which the whole nation was obliged to contribute. Here are already remarkable discrepancies. It was just exactly such societies as that alluded to which fixed the attention of the British people, first upon the horrors of the slave-trade, and after procuring its abolition, directed all their energies to convince their countrymen of the great sin of keeping such multitudes of their fellow-creatures in a state of ignominious bondage, with all its attendant evils. When the opinion became universally prevalent throughout Great Britain that slave-holding was a crime, and that it led to consequences shocking to contemplate; when nearly the whole press became unanimous in the cause of emancipation, then it was a comparatively easy task for the government to obtain from the representatives of the people in parliament a grant of twenty million pounds sterling to indemnify the planters, as it was plain that the people of England were perfectly satisfied to make a sacrifice in order to obtain the liberation of their injured fellow-creatures in the colonies. Thus the supposed distinction between the British government and people is proved in this case to be totally without foundation, as the government only complied with the wishes of the people in emancipating the slaves.

"From the circumstance of the sum paid by the nation to the planters as the price of their slaves, the writer of the articles in question immediately concludes that the slaves were looked upon by the British government and people as the rightful property of their owners, and draws his deductions accordingly. Now I should think the thing will be to prove, that in emancipating the slaves, the opinion was prevalent in Great Britain that no man ought to be held in bondage by another against his will, and that the planters were, therefore, bound to release their slaves under any circumstances; but that as it was impossible to foresee exactly what effect emancipation would have upon the colonies, and if the experiment failed, nearly the whole damage would have to be borne by the planters, it was fair that these should be indemnified in some degree for the loss that might accrue to them from the proposed change.

"As slave-holding is now felony in the British West Indies, of course every slave who arrives on British ground is free; and if the English authorities restored such persons, they would be guilty of what is now declared a crime by the British government, viz., of assisting in maintaining the system of holding property in slaves. But of course this reasoning applies only to slaves when they reach the British territory, and not to any other kind of property. If the British authorities were to act upon the advice of the writer of the articles alluded to, and to pay the value to the masters of those slaves who sought an asylum on British territory, what would prevent the planters of Surinam from emancipating in this manner all their slaves, if they liked, at the expense of the British government! And besides, would there not be a risk, that some of the planters would get free negroes of Surinam to personate runaway slaves in the British possessions, and then divide with them the sum obtained for their supposed emancipation!

"Another very erroneous idea of the writer of the articles alluded to, is his confounding the Anti-slavery Society with the British government. Now the fact is, that these societies at present stand very nearly in the same relation to the Dutch people as they did to the British before emancipation. The end of these societies is the same in Holland now as it was in England then, viz., to procure the emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch colonies, on the plea that holding our fellow-creatures in slavery, which, besides the other horrors inseparable from it, almost entirely prevents their enjoying religious instruction, is contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. The societies alluded to never interfered with the compensation allowed by England for the slaves, but left this as a question to be settled between the government and the planters, and as such these societies would likewise desire to leave it in the Netherlands. Nothing can be therefore more unreasonable than the remark of the writer of the articles in question, that, in order to prove themselves sincere, the Anti-slavery Society should pay to the Dutch planters, out of their own funds, the value of the runaway slaves, a thing with which the said society has never had anything to do.

"To reply to the third article, of course, a good deal of statistical information is necessary; but surely nothing can be more ridiculous than the notion expressed by the writer, that the negroes are not fit for christianity, because as slaves it makes them wish for their freedom from an oppressive yoke. Must not the first principles of christianity teach them that slavery and its horrors are totally incompatible with the mild spirit of the gospel! When they hear or read of 'loosing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free,' must they not feel that they are unjustly held in bondage, and that they have a right to obtain their liberty if they can! For what have they done to forfeit their freedom! Or did they ever consent to be enslaved! But

the writer of these articles is right in saying that slaves are not fit for having the gospel preached to them. And why? Not because they are naturally worse than other men, nor because they are negroes—but because they are in an artificially degraded state—because they are slaves. And this is exactly one of the strongest reasons for emancipating them. The idea of the slaves acting dishonestly to their masters in running away from the yoke laid upon them, because they thereby steal themselves, being their own value, from the planters, and that this, therefore, amounts to a positive theft on the part of the poor slaves, is exceedingly foolish, and may be an excellent weapon in an able hand like your own, to cover the author of these articles with ridicule."

We proceed to copy the introductory remarks in the *Handelsblad*, in which we perceive much ground for satisfaction, but regret that the expectation to which the last paragraph might give rise has not been fulfilled with greater fidelity and impartiality.

"The question of emancipating of the slaves in our West Indian possessions appears to revive in the Netherlands. Mr. J. de Neufville Az, advocate, has published a pamphlet, entitled, *The Emancipation of the Slaves examined in its results, and applied to the Netherland Colonies*, has treated the subject with zeal, and has taken Mr. J. J. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies* as the foundation of his examination. Mr. Van Ouwerkerk de Fries, the estimable veteran in whatever relates to sound views of our commercial principles, has since published a small work in which he treats of the religious instruction of our negro slaves, and views the prosperity of our colony, Surinam, as in great danger. The periodical review, *De Friend des Faderlands*, has also, in the 10th and 11th numbers of this year, a pretty long article on this subject. We approve of all this, and we also feel ourselves roused to publish a few words on this not unimportant subject, in order that the matter in question may be viewed in its different points, accompanied with more complete information."

The writer proceeds to say, that he cannot contemplate with equal satisfaction the conduct of "Mrs. Fry, and some of her countrymen who, we are informed, travel through our large cities to deliver lectures, whereof the object is, the abolition of slavery in our colonies we approve still less a certain British and Foreign Society distributing with a lavish hand a small blue book in our fatherland." We shall do no injustice to this subject in saying but few words upon it. As men and christians we believe ourselves bound, so far as our influence may extend, to seek the abolition of a system which is a disgrace to our common humanity, and the sacred religion we profess. We feel this conduct to be peculiarly incumbent upon us, because, in the long struggle for the abolition of slavery in our West Indian colonies, we have become better acquainted with its essential character than the people of other lands in which the subject has not had equal attention, and justice to the slave demands that we should proclaim to the world that which we know of the unutterable horrors of the prison-house. We regard this the more as an imperative duty, because, notwithstanding any false charges which may have been brought against emancipation, we are able to prove that it has been an immense blessing for those who have been its especial objects, and that, in the performance of a great act of justice, the safety and prosperity of our colonies has been essentially promoted. Some evidence will be given on these points before we conclude.

Another cause of complaint is, that "the Netherlands slaveholders of Eustatius, St. Martin, Curaçao, and Surinam, have already lost many a slave who has taken refuge in the neighbouring British possessions." For what do they run away? Because they are cruelly and unjustly treated, and we confess that we cannot regret that they have escaped such treatment. We sincerely hope that very shortly the Dutch government will take the only effectual way of preventing this loss of labourers to the Netherlands West India colonies, by placing the negroes in those regions in as favourable a situation as those in our own colonies.

In the second article in the *Handelsblad*, a charge is made that highly coloured statements have been put forth by persons who visited some parts of the West Indies within a few weeks after the abolition of slavery, and these, it is contended, afford very insufficient evidence of the general or present results of emancipation. To this it may be replied, that in an island in which slavery has been abolished four years longer than in the generality of our colonies, the results have been such as will not furnish an objection to the most inveterate opposer. We refer to Antigua, where, besides those common advantages every where found of an increase of trade and the value of land, decrease in crime, and improvement in civilization, morals, and religion, the exportation of sugar has very considerably increased. It could not, indeed, be reasonably supposed that this last result would everywhere take place, and reasons could easily be given why it is undesirable that this should be the case. At what expense is the production of sugar forced in all slave countries without exception? By toil, especially during the season of crop, which human nature cannot endure without materially abridging the period of human existence; by denying to the bondsman, wearied with the toil of the day, that indispensable refreshment afforded by sleep during the night, which a gracious Creator intended for the whole human family; by the employment of females generally in the field, often under circumstances which render it fatal alike to themselves and to their offspring. These are the means, in addition to the infliction of the merciless whip alike on both sexes, without the slightest

regard to decency, by which large cargoes of sugar are obtained, notwithstanding a continually diminished population. Hence the necessity for slave importations, and the tenacity with which slave-holding countries cling to the accursed traffic in human beings.

We cannot follow the writer in all his remarks which require rectification. Among these must, however, be mentioned the following. "It is also very remarkable, that all the proofs advanced of the increased value of estates, of which such a boast is made, were limited to the year 1838, and therefore to the first few months immediately following emancipation." The facts relative to British Guiana, to which the remarks in the *Handelsblad* especially refer, we will now give.

The number of estates sold in British Guiana since the 1st August, 1838, up to the latest period the official returns were printed, is twenty-three, viz., in the province of Demerara, fourteen; Essequibo, six; Berbice, three; of these one was sold in 1838, six in 1839, and sixteen in 1840. The sum paid for these twenty-three estates was five hundred and ninety-two thousand five hundred pounds.

These estates were not purchased of their former owners by speculators in lands, but by residents in the colony intimately acquainted with their real value, and able to form a correct idea of the future prospects of the colonies; and it is not a little remarkable that the two individuals, Captain Warren, of Demerara, and Mr. Laing, of Berbice, who have done more to depreciate the value of property in British Guiana than perhaps any other men, have become purchasers of estates at advanced prices; and the latter has actually doubled his stake in the colony. The proprietors are now generally holding on to the estates, so that few, if any, are now in the market.

We hope at a future time to have an opportunity of advertng particularly to the number and value of estates, or small parcels of land, purchased by the negroes in Guiana, and to other circumstances indicative of their industry and good conduct, founded on official statements of the highest authorities in our colonies.

It would have been only an act of justice, in speaking of the commercial results of emancipation, to have alluded to the great increase in the exports to our West Indian colonies since the period of emancipation, amounting to some millions of pounds sterling. The disbanding of a large number of soldiers on account of the superior safety of freedom over slavery, might have been suitably introduced; and lastly, but not as the least important, the immense increase in the happiness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and their rapid advancement in all which renders human existence most desirable.

We entirely agree with the writer in the *Handelsblad* in the views taken by him of the introduction of Hill Coolies into Guiana, and have not been wanting, we hope, in those endeavours which have stayed these disgraceful and inhuman proceedings.

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES: M. DUCLARY AND THE TROIS PIQUETS.

"The whip is indispensable to the negro." This is a fixed idea of M. Lepelletier Duclary, councillor in the royal court of Martinique, recently dismissed from the functions of alternate president of that court, for having said in a pamphlet which he published, that the royal ordinance of June, 1839, which prescribes the registration of the slaves, and the ordinance directing visits to the plantations for the purpose of ascertaining the treatment of the slaves, "were encroachments on the rights of the master, a monstrous usurpation, and a political conspiracy against the colonial constitution." This M. Duclary, who is a flogger of negroes, pretends that "the symbol of corporeal chastisement in the colonies is only the symbol of labour." We are about to explain what the punishment of the whip is in the colonies, vulgarly called *trois piquets*.

The victim is stretched upon the ground, the feet tied to a stake of iron, the two hands tied separately to two other stakes, representing the crucifixion, and in this position the victim is flogged. The executioner is armed with a long whip, with which he strikes the victim at measured intervals twenty-nine blows. Each stroke brings away a piece of flesh from which the blood streams.

Listen now to the opinion of a man who cannot be suspected by the floggers of negroes, on the subject of slave-treatment.

A colonist of Martinique, in a pamphlet published some years since, thus expresses himself with respect to the punishment of the *trois piquets*, inflicted on the slaves.

"Nothing can equal the severity of the police regulations with respect to the slaves of the towns. Those in the country are subject to the arbitrary will of their masters, who can inflict the most severe punishments without the consent of any administrative authority. *Twenty-nine blows with the whip*—such is the conclusion of all the local arrests by the police or the administration concerning slaves. This chastisement, the maximum of correctional punishment, is inflicted in the gaol or in the public place, and, notwithstanding its severity, it is the punishment adjudged to the most trifling faults, the colonial system not admitting that a negro should obtain justice against a white. Neither women nor old men are sheltered from this brutal infliction. A sexagenarian having inadvertently insulted colonel de Sanois, a creole, by walking abreast of this militia chief, was for this trifling offence publicly flogged in the Place Bertin. This example, cited from among a thousand [it is always the colonist who speaks] will

prove to what a pitch the rigour with which the slaves are treated is pushed in our colonies. The yoke there is too heavy; it must be lightened, or it will be broken off by violence." This colonist has told the truth, but he has not told the whole truth.

The punishment of the *trois piquets*, is executed in Martinique by the master of the gaol, a slave attached to the prison in the capacity of turnkey; in Guadeloupe, it is the hangman who flogs, so that the chastisement, which is generally a simple police correction, is aggravated by the intervention of the executioner; thus adding to the degradation of the flogging, a mark of infamy on the person of the slave.

These punishments, which for three or four years were inflicted in the public place, are now only executed in the interior of the gaols; but the persons of both men and women are always naked. Flog a naked woman! and a man the flogger! It is thus that they work out the moral education of the slave.

When the execution of the punishment of the *trois piquets* is commanded by the commissary of police, or by the "procureur du roi," the number of blows is fixed at a minimum of six, and at a maximum of twenty-nine, this latter number not being allowed to be exceeded. But it frequently happens, when the punishment takes place without the intervention of the authority, and the masters inflict it themselves by the hand of their overseers, that the number of blows is extended to many hundreds, and perhaps continued for several successive days.

For the slightest offence, for a want of courtesy or respect towards a free person, for returning after the curfew in the evening (when the slave is arrested by a patrol of the police), for negligence in performing the work of the master, for an act of laziness according to the interpretation of the latter, or, if he complain, of insolence in the slave, the *trois piquets* is administered. In 1831, the slave Nérou, a newly-imported African, was brought before the juge d'instruction at St. Pierre, Martinique, to bear witness in a criminal process. The negro explained himself with difficulty which was attributed to design on his part; and he was condemned to receive twenty-nine blows with the whip in the gaol. At the same time they inflicted a similar punishment in the public place on another slave, because he saluted the governor, M. Dupotet, on his landing at St. Pierre, with cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive la chartre!* "How many slaves have perished in the dungeons of the plantations," says the aforesaid colonist of Martinique, "or under the lash of the overseers, without any inquiry on the part of the authorities, without any proceedings being instituted by the public minister against the perpetrators of such cruelties! Happy, indeed, are those who have not fallen under tortures of which the horrors cannot be conceived!"

And M. Duclary, who is aware of all this, tells us that, "if the negro is consulted when he merits punishment, he will invariably prefer the whip to sequestration, an increase of task, or any other punishment which would be less repugnant to the European." Since, then, the negro loves the whip, he must not be deprived of it. M. Duclary is so anxious to please the negroes, that he draws up a petition in their favour for the retention of the *trois piquets*!

This appears to us, however, to be an additional reason for abolishing the use of the lash, in order to improve the moral sensibilities of the slave. If he prefers to be flogged rather than be put in prison, the simple reason is that you have brutalised him; you have rendered him almost insensible to bad treatment; and this makes him aspire the more after the liberty of which he is deprived. The slave has an additional number of hours of rest on Sundays and saints' days this is the only relaxation he enjoys; and the being deprived of it is, therefore, the more painful. If the task is a more severe punishment than the lash, it is because he is always forced to work for others, and because labour is held in contempt in the colonies. Abolish the lash, and you will thereby raise the slave to the dignity of a man, instead of debasing him, as he now is, to the scale of the beast."

"Let us open the code Français," says M. Duclary; "we there see that theft under aggravated circumstances is visited with hard labour; a punishment both severe and infamous, and which closes up the future prospect of the citizen. Well! In the code of the possessor of slaves a similar crime calls down upon its author nothing more than some blows with the whip, or a few days' sequestration."

Yes; but, in the code of the possessor of slaves, the slave is punished with death if he strikes his master. So that the slave has less horror of theft than of a want of respect. This is the way that you possessors of slaves instruct and bring them up. For the crime of theft the slave is flogged; but if he commits the offence of striking you, he is lost! Mark the morality of the code of the possessor of slaves, which M. Duclary compares to the code Français, and prefers to it.

The possessors of slaves, moreover, have written in their code, that the punishment of the galleys is not a punishment for the slave; and this is true, since slavery and the galleys are one and the same thing.

We shall conclude this article by the recital of a circumstance in which M. Duclary took a part, at least as spectator. His love for the *trois piquets* probably dates from the agreeable emotion which he then experienced. It was in 1821. M. Duclary was then a gay young man of twenty-nine. Some of his colonial friends, at a meeting one Sunday at Martinique, arrested a negro slave, guilty of we know not what insolence towards these gentlemen—M. Duclary, who is at Paris at this moment, will probably be able to tell us. After having invested this poor wretch

with a three-cornered hat and an old militia uniform, including the epaulettes, these friends of M. Duclary, parodying the military degradation, tore off these insignia, then bound the unfortunate slave with cords, and inflicted on him the punishment of the *trois piquets*. We particularly mention this episode in the history of slavery, because it was related to us on the very day by a person whose memory is held by us in dear and honourable remembrance, who saw with his own eyes M. Lepellitier Duclary, the councillor of the royal court, assisting at this beautiful execution. Perhaps this may now explain the fixed idea which M. Duclary pursues, to wit, "that the whip is indispensable to the negro."—*Revue des Colonies*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 12TH.

If with the commencement of a new year, we advert to the necessity of the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society being well supported, we trust we have shewn in another article sufficient reason why the liberality of our friends should be exercised. Their money is not spent inconsiderately, nor spent in vain. We have the pleasure of presenting to-day a valuable list of contributions; and with especial pleasure and gratitude we have to state that, by a late grant of their standing committee, the Society of Friends have placed at the disposal of the Anti-slavery Committee the sum of £800. Not only the extreme interest of the objects they pursue—the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world—but the great importance of the exertions of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for the attainment of these objects, call for the cheerful and steady help of all the friends of freedom and humanity.

We cannot disguise from our friends in France that we look on their present situation as one of much responsibility. So far as the cause of abolition in the French colonies lies in the hands of official persons, it seems to be obstructed by impediments much to be deplored. But it does not lie wholly in the hands of official persons. There are organized friends of the cause in Paris, whose action need not be restrained by official difficulties, and whose energies should be more especially called into action when such difficulties exist to an unusual amount. It is, in truth, by a perpetual and effective agency in the community that the government is to be—we will not say impelled—but sustained in its wise and humane intentions, and kept alive to objects on which otherwise it might sleep. And the main hope of success in cases of difficulty lies here. We trust the French abolitionists are neither discouraged by the tardiness of the government commission, nor inactive in the prosecution of their great object. Not the French nation only, but the world has been led to expect a proposition for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies to be laid before the legislature in the session of 1842. So far as the commission on whom it has been devolved to prepare such a proposition are concerned, we fear there may be a disappointment; but surely there are some means at the disposal of the abolitionists for bringing the matter forward in an influential way, both within and without the walls of the legislative chambers. Such measures must have a beneficial result; concurrent as they will be, not only with the present tendencies of the public mind, but with that course of circumstances also which, in the colonies themselves, is urging onwards, "like one that travelleth," the indispensable necessity of emancipation.

Since the preceding observations were in type, we have had the gratification of learning that it is intended by the French Anti-slavery Committee to hold, within a few weeks, a public meeting in Paris, a measure which, if conducted with wisdom and energy, cannot fail to give a powerful impulse to the cause of abolition.

We are enabled to state that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have adopted an address to the Bey of Tunis, expressive of their high sense of the proceedings he has adopted towards the extermination of the slave-trade, and of their ardent hope that he will extend his views to the abolition of slavery itself. The address will be signed by Thomas Clarkson and be immediately forwarded to Malta for presentation.

We have been favoured with a copy of the *Emigration Gazette*, a new weekly journal, devoted, we presume, as its title imports, to the interests of emigration. We are truly happy to observe the ground which our contemporary has so promptly and distinctly

taken in reference to the emigration of Europeans to the West Indies, and the scheme of "free (!) emigration" from Africa. On these important subjects we make with pleasure the following extracts:—

If the hand of the prince of darkness was ever visible in the base and venal transactions of man, it will be plainly seen in the past results of this diabolical scheme. Disappointment, sickness, and death have been the portion of all the emigrants; and the same fate awaits those who may yet be victimized to the cupidity of the late merciless slave-masters, and, at present, the no less venal emigration-mongers of Jamaica.

But the scheme for obtaining emigrants from Africa is both absurd and iniquitous. Such a scheme would not only lead to an attempted revival of all the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade; but to the removal of a body of poor benighted Africans, who are totally ignorant of the arts of civilized life, and who rely in their native land on the roots and fruits of the earth, and the chase, for subsistence, to a country where no one would be not found to instruct them in the former, and where the latter are to be found. This would indeed fill to the brim England's cruelty and injustice to the African race, and Divine retribution would unavoidably manifest itself in the intolerable burthen the base delusion would necessarily bring on the white population. And while we are told that a British operative is not worth the cost of his importation to one of our Australian colonies, surely no one will contend that a helpless African in his primitive state, is worth the cost of his transit to one of the West India colonies, where he can neither apply himself to the pursuits of civilized life, nor find in the spontaneous offerings of the soil, the means of subsistence.

We have extracted from the *New York Evangelist* an interesting account of the departure of the Mendians for their native land. A letter from Mr. Whittier to Mr. Sturge brings us the following morsel of recent intelligence:—

"Boston, Twelfth Month 15th, 1841.

"The news from Washington is, that, by a mean trick and subterfuge, worthy of a slave-holder, W. C. Johnson, of Maryland, and the slave-holders and their abettors have succeeded in shutting out anti-slavery petitions from the house of representatives. But the question cannot be put to rest in this way—it will meet them at every turn. The church question (i. e. fellowship with slave-holders) is attracting much attention."

No West India mail has arrived since our last. The article in the present *Reporter* relating to Cuba, and more especially that relating to Holland, will be read with interest.

DISCUSSION IN SPAIN ON EMANCIPATION.

THE demand of the British government for the release of all Africans introduced into the Spanish colonies in violation of the treaty of 1817, has set the various parties so deeply interested in the question earnestly to work to prevent it. We insert below, from the Spanish paper *El Popular*, a translation of a declaration which has just been set forth by the junta of commerce of Catalonia. It appears from this document that the tribunal of commerce at Havana have memorialised the regency on the subject, and have sent a copy of their memorial to the junta of Catalonia, who have forwarded one in support of it, which we hope to give in our next. For to-day we give the declaration to which we have referred. The stirring of this discussion in Spain cannot but have important results.

[From *El Popular*, translated.]

Declaration of the junta of commerce on Catalonia, to the proposal of the English government for the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish colonies.

The tribunal of commerce of Havana remitted to that of Barcelona a copy of the memorial of the 30th of March last, which they directed to the regency of the kingdom, drawing its attention to the evil consequences which would result from the realization of the project for the emancipation of the slaves.

Although the tribunal of this capital performed an act worthy of its enlightened zeal, in uniting its voice to that of Havana, it also transmitted a copy to this junta. This junta referred the subject to a committee of its own members; which committee, desirous of accuracy, obtained the opinions of various persons who, by a long residence in Cuba, had acquired both a theoretical and practical acquaintance with a question of so much delicacy.

The following is the result of their inquiries and deliberations.

Honoured with the confidence of the committee of the tribunal of commerce, for the purpose of expressing our opinion upon the memorial which the tribunal of commerce at Havana directed to the regency of the kingdom on the 30th of March last, we shall make such observations as may be necessary, to give effective support to the very just memorial of that tribunal.

The document to which we refer takes as the basis of its arguments the fear that our cortes should inconsiderately engage itself in the question of slavery; and, in truth, if this should take place, the discussion alone would be a signal for terrific alarm to our ultra-marine possessions, because their inhabitants, fearful of the inexperience and ardent declamation which generally accompany similar debates, would see in them the beginning of a rash struggle. It would destroy confidence, and paralyse the spirit of enterprise, to such an extent, as to induce the whites to emigrate with all their capital. We, however, who are ocular witnesses of the tactics of our assemblies with respect to colonial policy, have not the same fear, because there has always prevailed in them a profound judgment and foresight upon this point, lest the prosperity and happiness of our Antilles should be compromised.

Worthy of remark, notwithstanding, is the reference which is made in the representation of the tribunal, to the conduct of the English consul in Cuba, who had arrived a short time before in the character of superintendent of Africans liberated by the Mixed Commission. We invoke with all the energy which the gravity of the subject demands, the support of the Junta of Commerce, in making such representations to the government as may lead to the suppression of a foreign interference, replete with danger to the sovereignty of the mother-country. This is the pretext with which powerful Albion seeks to insinuate herself, so to speak, into all the future questions that may arise with regard to the liberation of the slaves; and, unless this abuse is destroyed on the instant, we shall sow from this day a seed of discord and danger in our colonies. Such is our firm conviction on this head, that, for the purpose of closing for ever all diplomatic correspondence with England on the subject, and of dissolving the mixed commission which exists at Havana (with two English members), we should desire to see the commerce in Africans at once extinguished by decisive measures, because as long as this traffic prevails, together with the existing treaty, the same pretexts will remain for exciting continual disquietude and alarm in our Antilles. If this measure were adopted, we should hope that it (the mixed commission) would become entirely Spanish, and by this means, perhaps, the fault which an absolute government committed in the treaty of 1817 might be remedied.

Be the economical or political views of the English government with respect to the liberation of the slaves what they may, we must not forget that they find themselves at times harassed by the expression of public opinion, and the efforts of the philanthropic societies of their country; which (as may be collected from official information) had prepared a revolution in Jamaica, in the event of the government not announcing the emancipation of the slaves in that island.

We desire, therefore, to save in time the independence of our colonial administration, and the incontestable right of washing our clothes in our own houses, without the risk and danger which accrues to us from presumptuous foreigners, ignorant of our habits and customs, and, above all, of the generous disposition of the Spanish race in both hemispheres.

Let not the junta imagine that, in giving this opinion, it is intended in any way to close the door against any plan which enlightened humanity may elaborate in future time for ameliorating the condition of our slaves. Without in the slightest degree wishing to offend or depreciate the sentiments of another people, we may still say, that, in ages of less civilization and of less liberty, we have given to them examples of humanity in the facility afforded to the manumission of our slaves.

The rancour of the Anglo-Saxon race against the African has never been exhibited by Spaniards. The free negroes and mulatto, of the United States are never permitted to exercise the franchises without exposing themselves to the greatest insults, although possessing the same political rights as the whites. The prejudices of the English race against these unhappy people are deep-rooted, and are transmitted from generation to generation in a manner that astonishes the Spanish American, accustomed to see the white class of his country augmented by the continual ingress of persons of African descent, who become white—the term popularly used in our Antilles, to designate the generous and gradual fusion of the races. Let strangers leave us to ourselves, and we will, without the necessity for their counsels, do what the future exigencies of civilization in those parts may require.

England and France, after having provided for the future in Europe, have been able with less inconvenience to resolve the very delicate question of slavery, although not till half a century of information and infinite preparation had passed over; but, to cover present and future liabilities, each of them calculates on an annual income into the public treasury of more than two hundred millions of dollars: whilst we are, but just recovering from a civil war, which has left many deep wounds to be cicatrized in the mother-country, with an empty exchequer, and with institutions in our Antilles which represent the decrepid dynasty of the Austrians, whilst the mother country struggles to consolidate an opposite system, and, finally, with a government yet without weight, in consequence of all the political passions which in various ways revolution has bequeathed to us. Would this be the right moment for agitating a subject as delicate as it is irritating! Would it be just to submit ourselves blindly to the requisitions of strangers, when we have a basis in our legislation for attaining the same object with more prudence and security than any other nation! No. Let us see the French ministry offering in the chambers a prudent measure for avoiding the practical result which the emancipation of the English slaves exhibits, before promulgating a similar decree for our own. We shall not do our cabinet the injustice of believing it capable of entering into a system of gross blunders, and much less our legislative body. The intimate connexion which subsists between the Peninsula and her colonies is of such extent and importance, that to do this would be to renounce all the principles of good government, in order to throw ourselves headlong down a precipice. But this should not prevent the junta of commerce of this principality from energetically memorialising the government to assert the national independence in the government of the Antilles, in order to avoid the dangers with which the treaty with England of 1817 threatens us. We also recommend that it may petition the government to declare explicitly if it agrees with these principles, in order to tranquillize by its explanations the inhabitants of the Antilles, and

the vast number of persons resident in the Peninsula who have their fortune in them. We submit these brief considerations to the greater intelligence of the junta, in discharge of the confidence with which it has honoured the subscribers, and for which we offer our sincere thanks.

Barcelona, 16th June, 1841.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

In noticing some former observations of this journal on the subject placed at the head of this article, the *Trinidad Standard* affirms that the editor of it has "proved against his wish, that the demerits of such immigration lie more in sound than in substance, and that his horror of it springs only from antithesis, and the repugnance of a mind filled with notions of a diametrically opposite character to admit even the truth under a form so disagreeable."

Let us then—not to be too tenacious of our own wisdom—suppose this to be true; and let us contemplate the subject in the light in which it appears to the less prejudiced eyes of our contemporary. He gives the following "resumé of the facts elicited by the late inquiry and discussion" of the Trinidad agricultural committee.

1st. It is evident that the African at home is a slave, and is no more free to remain than he is to emigrate.

2nd. That he is sure to be sold into a cruel and irredeemable slavery, if the consent of his chief be not purchased for an actual freedom.

3rd. That in the former case he will suffer all the bodily agony of the middle passage, whilst in the latter he will, during the voyage, enjoy all the comfort which government and the abolitionist can secure to him.

4th. That in the latter he will be free to return home when he likes, and will have the opportunity afforded him of doing so.

And lastly.—That, whilst Emigration CANNOT INJURE the African, it will afford him the opportunity for improving his condition, by bringing him within the pale of FREEDOM, CIVILIZATION, RELIGION, AND BRITISH PROTECTION.

Passing over for the present many remarks which these admirably arranged and convincing propositions suggest, we make this general observation—that the object of the whole series is to induce us to BUY MEN. The African is already a slave—so says our authority; we cannot have him as an emigrant without purchasing the consent of his chief—so says our authority again; therefore, since we want him, let us go and purchase him—this is the conclusion. Here therefore is a direct persuasive to the slave-trade; for what less than slave-trade can the purchasing of slaves be! But we must beg pardon of our contemporary for so much "antithesis."

We perceive, however—for, with all our repugnance to admit truth under disagreeable forms, we are not stone blind—that our contemporary lays stress on the assertion that they are to be purchased, not for slavery, but "for an actual freedom." Now taking this assertion in the first instance to represent the fact, what is the force of it? Is it benevolent to establish a slave-trade on the coast of Africa, in order that the slaves you purchase may be actually free! No one who knows the horrors of the African slave-trade can hesitate for a moment to answer this question in the negative. The happiness and the misery resulting from such a process being compared, the misery must be admitted incalculably to preponderate.

But we do not admit the assertion of our contemporary to represent the fact. The patrons of this emigration scheme do not mean to purchase even a single African "for an actual freedom." Our authority states that the bought men are to be brought "within the pale of freedom, civilization, religion, and BRITISH PROTECTION." That is to say, they are to be taken to the West Indies, whether they will or not. We are quite open to correction on this point, and very desirous not to misunderstand the promoters of African emigration. We therefore ask for information, whether it is intended that the Africans, "purchased (as is alleged) for an actual freedom," shall be at liberty to remain at home? If—as we presume—they will not, but are *volens volens* to emigrate, then it is plain that they will be as truly slaves after they have been "purchased for an actual freedom" as they were before, and that the purchase is to be made for the purpose of transferring the power of coercion formerly held by the African chief to the hands of the white man. This is slave-trade without qualification. And this, let it be observed, A RENEWED BRITISH SLAVE-TRADE, is palpably the atrocity pleaded for under the name of free emigration from Africa to the West Indies!

Within these few days, we have received Mr. Burnley's pamphlet, by which we perceive this subject is to be still further pressed on the attention of the British public. Our notice of it must be deferred till our next number.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

To the Editor of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

1. Sir,—Cordially loving the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, because I find it eminently acting the part of the good Samaritan towards my poor brother in bondage, the slave, throughout the world; and purposing shortly to make a tour for the purpose of advocating the formation of Societies Auxiliary to it, I cannot feel at liberty to do so, without first publishing my views as follow, on the subject of Slavery in British India.

2. The population of Hindostan consists mainly of four distinct races, viz.:—the Aborigines—the Hindoos—the Mohammedans—and the British.

3. The Hindoo power appears to have arisen we know not when, upon the overthrow of the aboriginal. The Mohammedan we know to have overturned the Hindoo, generally, within the last few centuries; and it is not yet one hundred years since the British arose upon the ruins of both.

4. Of these, the aborigines are found in mingled vestiges alone among the mountains. The Hindoos are by far the most numerous. The Mohammedans, perhaps one-fourth of the whole population, immediately preceded us, generally speaking, in dominion; and we now rule over all, to the direct amount of 80,000,000 or 100,000,000.

5. Hindoo law, as legislative or statutory, had ceased under the Mohammedan away before our time, wherever the Mohammedan power had been established: but, in custom and in practice, it continued, not only in the states which continued Hindoo, but extensively even under the Mohammedan government itself, largely moulding that government by Hindoo principles and usages.

6. In this state we found Hindostan; and under these circumstances it is that our system has arisen.

7. By that system, the British government recognizes Hindoo and Mohammedan civil law, and enforces Mohammedan criminal law; reserving to itself the right of modifying both these systems by humanity and justice.

8.—1. The Hindoo law permits the moderate correction of the slave by his master; but declares the abuse of that power punishable.

9.—2. No part of the Hindoo criminal law is recognised either by regulation or practice.

10.—3. The criminal courts are guided by the Mohammedan law, as modified by the British regulations, and administered by British magistrates; and the British regulations make no distinction between Hindoo and Mohammedan masters.*

11. The Mohammedan law also permits the moderate correction of the slave by his master, but declares the abuse of that power punishable.

12. Thus much by way of preface.

13. The dark side is as follows:—

1. That some features of slavery exist, variously and extensively, in British Hindostan.

2. That unspeakable atrocities are sometimes perpetrated under shelter of those features.

3. That the least of these features and atrocities is highly criminal.

4. That these facts are disgraceful to our government, implicate us all in guilt, and ought to be attacked and extirpated immediately, by every right means in our power.

14. But on the other hand, I believe and affirm, with equal distinctness—

15. That, with local exceptions as to *agrestic* bondage, especially excepting Malabar, and with occasional exceptions, as to domestic servitude, especially in the Mohammedan Zonahs, the actual condition of those under bondage in our territories, generally speaking, is so free from suffering by their bond-condition, that, properly speaking, it cannot be fairly called slavery at all, when we mean by slavery a thing which involves not only the grossest legal wrong, but, generally speaking, severe actual oppression, and I am persuaded, that the extreme views which have been promulgated; must weaken our power in seeking the peaceful extirpation of the wrong which does exist, because facts alone can permanently sustain assertions.

16. My evidence respecting the actual condition of the slaves (as they are called) in British India, in addition to the views above given of their legal state, is as follows:—

1. In general they hold any property which they acquire, as securely as other men.

2. They are very rarely sold against their will.

3. A large proportion of them are actually free.

4. Very extensively, their bondage is not inherited by their children.

5. They are often raised to authority and honour; Dowlut Raw Seindiah, one of the most powerful of the Mahratta chiefs, at the beginning of this century was a Kurmi.

6. They are generally upon a par with the other subordinate members of the family, including wives and children, as to domestic chastisement; and are commonly treated as members of the family, when employed in domestic services.

7. Their labour is not unfrequently lighter than that of hired servants.

8. They are a very small proportion of the whole population, perhaps one-twentieth, including all their classes; but, judging as fairly as I can, from all the evidence before me, less than one-twentieth of these, that is less than one-four hundredth of the whole population, are suffering any actual infringement of their wills.

9. When employed in agriculture, they are very rarely driven; and much of their time is their own.

10. British law gives slavery no direct support.

11. British administration mitigates it.

12. Mohammedan law is softened both in law and practice.

13. Hindoo criminal law is abolished, and its civil law is mitigated in practice.

14. None but the natives can legally have anything to do with it.

15. Runaways cannot be compelled to return to their masters.

16. Marriages are solemnly performed, and are in general as sacredly regarded as any others.

17. Marriage with them is not considered dishonourable by their masters, when caste, apart from slavery, does not make it so.

18. They are generally as effectually protected, both by law and practice, from hurtful violence, as any other members of the family, or of the community.

19. If abused, they can generally leave their masters with ease, if they please, and, after doing so, no violence is allowed to effect their return.

20. A very large proportion of them were sold into bondage in their youth, by their parents during famines or seasons of extreme distress, in order to save their lives.

17. The causes of these characteristics of their actual condition are.

1. The comparative mildness, in some respects, of the Hindoo and Mohammedan slave systems.

2. All the ruling authorities, making and administering the laws are British; and all these, in various degrees, are in their favour.

3. None of these can legally hold slaves.

4. They are under no religious restrictions, except in Malabar, where slavery is mingled with caste.

* These three paragraphs are quoted from Parliamentary Paper, No. 262, page 71, printed 26th April, 1841.

5. A large proportion of them have reduced themselves to bondage for their own benefit.

6. No inducements exist, generally speaking, to goad them to extreme toil.

7. The habits, wants, interests, customs, and opinions of the people, all generally concur to render *all* labour *light*.

8. Everywhere excessively cheap free labour abounds.

9. With little exception, there is no such thing in Hindostan as intense and concentrated agricultural speculation.

18. My general grounds for the above statements are,

1. My personal knowledge of India, from a residence of thirteen years.

2. Personal information from persons well acquainted with India.

3. The following parliamentary papers, viz.

Slavery in India, 1828; a large vol. of nearly 1000 pages.

East India sugar papers.

No. 262, of 26th of April, 1841, and

Lord Auckland's minute of 6th of May, 1841.

19. My reasons for not quoting my authorities more minutely are,

1. My desire simply to be fairly understood for myself, without impugning others.

2. The fact that *no extracts* can do justice to evidence, where the evidence itself is contradictory; and because this is remarkably the case with the evidence in question, as far as it is derived from parliamentary papers.

20. I would merely add, that I have carefully, prayerfully, and independently explored it for myself, with as honest, as earnest, and as impartial a desire to get at the real truth as my character permits; and that the above is the result of my remarks.

21. Having thus discharged the duty which I owe to my own conscience, it is not my intention to notice any communications that may be made in opposition or reply; except a further examination of the question should lead me to a modification of my present views.

22. In conclusion, I wish emphatically to observe, that, however widely the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and I differ, our hearts are one; that I entirely concur with it in the solemn duty laid upon us of diligently seeking, by every lawful means, the immediate and thorough extirpation of every vestige of slavery from the whole dominions which God has given us; and that the last words of the resolution adopted by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at a special meeting, on 15th of January, 1841, suggesting, that "a declaratory statute which shall relieve from bondage (however modified or sanctioned) every class of men within the limits of this great empire; and which shall provide, that every person who shall hereafter touch any portion of the British territory, without exception or limitation, shall be *ipso facto* free," fairly expresses the desire and the duty dear to my soul; and that I feel the more earnest in advocating this course, because the large investments of capital already made, or apparently about to be made, in East India cotton and sugar speculations, must in the very nature of things, involve the most bitter and ruinous aggravations of the bondage yet existing in Hindostan, unless every root of slavery be extirpated before these speculations come into active operation.

C. STUART.

Stoke Newington, 7th of January, 1842.

THE MENDIANS.

THE Mendians are again on the sea. They embarked on the 2nd of December, on board the barque *Gentleman*, chartered for the purpose of conveying them to Sierra Leone. The *New York Evangelist* of December 4 contains an account of the farewell meetings held before their departure, which appears to have excited a very general and thrilling interest. The whole is far too long for our columns, but we shall make with pleasure such extracts as our space will permit.

At the meeting at Broadway Tabernacle, Mr. F. Williams spoke as follows:—

"I wish to call your attention to one particular, for the purpose of correcting a mis-statement, widely circulating in the community—that these men were restive, turbulent, and unmanageable. According to their own statement they yielded quietly to their condition, and had it not been for the cook, would never have risen upon their oppressors—but he tormented them by making them believe that Ruiz and Montez bought them for the purpose of killing and eating them; and told them that the next day, or on their arrival at Principe, they would be butchered and packed down like beef. To illustrate the manner in which they were to be put to death, he took a chicken by the neck, and, holding it with one hand, took a knife and cut off its head with the other—representing the manner how they were to be disposed of. Thus tortured, they felt that with them it was liberty or death, and, after being driven below, to use their own language, 'they took counsel.' By means of a nail which Cinque had found on deck and hid under his arm, he extricated himself and his companions. They then determined to make an attempt to regain their freedom. They had discovered in the hold of the vessel a box of cane knives, which was open, and the knives loose in the box. Cinque armed himself as well as each man with a knife, and then they sprang upon deck, and (as you know) triumphed over their oppressors."

Several of the Mendians were then called upon, by reading from the Bible, by spelling, and by answering questions put to them by spectators, to show their improvement under the instructions they had received. The audience were surprised and delighted with their accurate spelling, correct pronunciation, fluency in reading, and quickness of perception. In some cases an elevated tone of religious feeling was manifested in the answers which they gave.

Kin-na [a young man about eighteen] was then requested to give a brief statement of his capture, &c. &c.—which he did in English. He spoke deliberately, and so as to be generally understood. After he had finished his remarks, he said, "If any person in the audience wishes to ask me questions, I will answer them. I thank those who have been kind to us, and will pray for them when I get to Mendi." A gentleman then asked, "What will you do for your enemies?" Kin-na replied, "I will pray for them too, for I read in Bible, love your enemies." Another gentleman asked him, what he would say to his people in Africa, when he got home?

He replied, "I will tell them what I learn in it [the Bible], will tell them about God, and about Jesus Christ coming into the world to die for sinners. I tell them part, I only read Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John—I no read Acts, Romans," &c. &c.—They then sang a native song in an animated manner, it commenced with a solo, then a duet, then a full chorus, and in melody, wildness, and energy, was altogether peculiar and unique. Mr. Thomas Hastings afterwards attempted to reduce it to writing, both the words and music, but found it impracticable.

After these proceedings Cinque rose and addressed the assembly in his native tongue, with power and effect. His rapid enunciation, the expression of his countenance, the flashing of his eye, and the significance of his gestures and movements in certain passages of his address, were remarkable. He showed himself able also to touch with a master's hand the finer chords of the human heart; for when, in the conclusion of his remarks, he expressed a sense of his obligations to the Americans for their kindness to him and his people, and bade them farewell for ever, his manner—so subdued and touching—affected those who are well acquainted with him to tears.

At a meeting at a "coloured Methodist (!) church" the following correspondence was read:—

To the Honorable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MOST RESPECTED SIR,—The Mendi people give you thanks for all your kindness to them. They will never forget your defence of their rights before the great court at Washington. They feel that they owe to you, in a large measure, their deliverance from the Spaniards, and from slavery or death. They will pray for you as long as they live, Mr. Adams. May God bless and reward you!

We are about to go home to Africa. We go to Sierra Leone first, and then we reach Mendi very quick. When we get to Mendi, we will tell the people of your great kindness. Good missionary will go with us. We shall take the Bible with us. It has been a precious book in prison, and we love to read it now we are free. Mr. Adams, we want to make you a present of a beautiful Bible. Will you please to accept it, and when you look at it, or read it, remember your poor and grateful clients? We read in this holy book, "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our souls are escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth."

For the Mendi people: CINQUE, KIN-NA, KA-LE.

Boston, November 6th, 1841.

Boston, 19th November, 1841.

LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., New York.

DEAR SIR,—I received, and accept with thanks, the elegant Bible presented to me by Cinque, Kin-na, Ka-le, and the thirty-two other Mendians, who are indebted to you, and your benevolent associates, probably for their lives, certainly for their deliverance from an unjust prosecution, and finally for the means of returning to their own country.

I enclose herewith my answer to the address of Cinque, Kin-na and Ka-le, in behalf of the whole number inserted before the title-page to the volume. I ask of your kindness to communicate an answer, with my best wishes for their safe return home, to them. I have been unwilling to meet them in any public exhibition, which might have the appearance on my part of an ostentatious display of the service which it has been my good fortune to render them—a service of which I have otherwise but too strong a propensity to be proud, and of which I feel that all pride and self-approbation ought to sink into the sentiment of humble and fervent gratitude to God. The silent gratulations of my own conscience, for the part I have taken in these concerns, are too precious to seek for the praise or to hazard the censure of public assemblies. But I could not cease to take an interest in their welfare, and to hope for the consummation of your kindness to them in the accomplishment of their restoration to freedom and safety in their native land. I am, with great respect, dear sir, faithfully yours,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

To the Mendi African CINQUE, KIN-NA, KA-LE, and thirty-two others, about to return to their native land.

Boston, 19th November, 1841.

MY FRIENDS,—I received the elegant Bible which you have presented me through your true and faithful friend, Mr. Lewis Tappan. I accept it, and shall keep it as a kind remembrance from you, to the end of my life. It was from that book I learned to espouse your cause when you were in trouble, and to give thanks to God for your deliverance.

I am glad to learn that you have the prospect of returning safe and free to your own native country; and I hope and pray that you may pass the remainder of your lives in peace and comfort there. Remember with kindness those worthy persons who befriended you in your captivity here, and who now furnish you with the means of returning home, and tell your countrymen of the blessings of the book which you have given to me. May the Almighty Power who has preserved and sustained you hitherto, still go with you, and turn to your good, and to that of your country, all that you have suffered, and all that may hereafter befall you! From your friend,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

On Thursday, at nine o'clock, A.M., the Mendians, the missionaries, and several friends, went on board the barque at the foot of Clinton-street, and were towed down the harbour by the steam-boat. Nothing could exceed the delight which they manifested as soon as they lost sight of their boarding-house, and found themselves fairly started on their way to the vessel that was to take them to their homes. They gave way to no noisy manifestations of joy, but there was a light in their eye, an elasticity in their steps, and an expression in their whole manner, that evinced how exceedingly glad they were. And as they leaped one by one on board the barque, it was not difficult to imagine that their own minds were busy with the contrast between their present situation—FREE, and bound for home—and their condition when last on board a vessel, bound in chains, and threatened with death!

As soon as the steam-boat with the barque were fairly in the stream, the missionaries, the Mendians, the owner and officers of the barque, with several friends, assembled in the cabin of the steam-boat, to spend an hour in a meeting suited to the interesting and solemn occasion.

The Mendians will find at Sierra Leone, that the governor has been instructed by Lord Aberdeen to afford them every facility

for their return. Most sincerely do we join in the devout aspirations which the American papers contain, that He, by whose mercy they have been so wonderfully rescued from past perils, may still preserve them, and make them an eminent blessing to the country to which, with such genuine filial love, they are wending their way.

ADMISSION OF TEXAS INTO THE AMERICAN UNION.

We take the following important pre-monition from the *Liberator* :—

Let not the friends of freedom be asleep at their post. This vile republic is as cunning as she is fierce. It was long ago prophesied, even when her attempt was apparently most completely baffled, that she would slyly watch an opportunity to slip into the Union unperceived, and that the abolitionists would wake up some morning and find the deed done.

Be assured that every thing is, at this moment, in skilful preparation for such a result. Never was there a more auspicious time for such a purpose. Both of the great political parties are sold to the South; and it is difficult to decide which is most ready to do the foulest deeds at her bidding. Old party lines are broken up, and men's minds are bewildered and demoralized by mutual efforts to cement the scattered parts with bargain and compromise. We have a bitter slave-holder for President, and a worse than slave-holder for his prime minister. The energies of abolition are weakened by division, and much of its activity wasted in political ballotings and nominations.

Texas is aware of all this, and will not let such an opportunity slip. She has procured books and reviews to be written in favour of her character, both in France and England; and has completely succeeded in gulling the popular sentiment in those countries. We have all along supposed this was not done without an object; though rather inclined to think it might be in reference to the loan she wished to negotiate.

We now learn, from the *Natchez Free Trader*, that a new proposition relative "to the union of Texas with this country, will be brought forward by a distinguished gentleman at the next session of Congress, under very favourable auspices."

UNITED STATES: THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

We observe that the proceedings adopted by the British cruisers on the coast of Africa towards suspected vessels bearing the American flag, have given rise to a remonstrance on the part of the late American ambassador (Mr. Stevenson), and that this has elicited from our late foreign minister (Lord Palmerston) a formal assertion of a right—not of search—but of inquiry rather, as to the real character of such vessels. An important correspondence has ensued between Mr. Stevenson and Lord Aberdeen, which, but for its great length, we would have inserted in our columns. The affair is now but too truly called an altercation between the two governments, and threatens not a little mischief. We insert below that part of the President's message which refers to it, and express our earnest hope that the recommendation with which it closes will be sincerely and promptly acted on.

I herewith submit the correspondence which has recently taken place between the American minister at the court of St. James's (Mr. Stevenson) and the minister of foreign affairs of that government, on the right claimed by that government to visit and detain vessels sailing under the American flag, and engaged in prosecuting lawful commerce in the African seas. Our commercial interests in that region have experienced considerable increase, and have become an object of much importance, and it is the duty of this government to protect them against all improper and vexatious interruption. However, desirous the United States may be for the suppression of the slave-trade, they cannot consent to interpolations into the maritime code, at the mere will and pleasure of other governments. We deny the right of any such interpolation to any one, or all the nations of the earth, without our consent. We claim to have a voice in all amendments or alterations of that code—and when we are given to understand, as in this instance, by a foreign government, that its treaties with other nations cannot be executed without the establishment and enforcement of new principles of maritime police, to be applied without our consent, we must employ a language neither of equivocal import, nor susceptible of misconception. American citizens prosecuting a lawful commerce in the African seas, under the flag of their country, are not responsible for the abuse or unlawful use of that flag by others; nor can they rightfully, on account of any such alleged abuses, be interrupted, molested, or detained, while on the ocean; and if thus molested and detained, while pursuing honest voyages in the usual way, and violating no law themselves, they are unquestionably entitled to indemnity. This government has manifested its repugnance to the slave-trade, in a manner which cannot be misunderstood. By its fundamental law it prescribes limits in point of time to its continuance, and against its own citizens, who might so far forget the rights of humanity as to engage in that wicked traffic, it has long since, by its municipal laws, denounced the most condign punishment. Many of the states composing this Union had made appeals to the civilized world for its suppression, long before the moral sense of other nations had become shocked by the iniquities of the traffic. Whether this government should now enter into treaties containing mutual stipulations upon this subject, is a question for its mature deliberation. Certain it is, that, if the right to detain American ships on the high seas can be justified on the plea of necessity for such detention arising out of the existence of treaties between other nations, the same plea may be extended and enlarged by the new stipulations of new treaties to which the United States may not be a party. This government will not cease to urge upon that of Great Britain full and ample remuneration for all losses, whether arising from detention or otherwise, to which American citizens have heretofore been, or may hereafter be subjected, by the exercise of rights which this government cannot recognize as legitimate and proper. Nor will I indulge a doubt, but that the sense of justice of Great Britain will constrain her to make retribution for any wrong or loss which any American citizen, engaged in the prosecution of lawful commerce, may

have experienced at the hands of its cruisers, or other public authorities. This government, at the same time, will relax no effort to prevent its citizens, if there be any so disposed, from prosecuting a traffic so revolting to the feelings of humanity. It seeks to do no more than to protect the fair and honest trader from molestation and injury; but while the enterprising mariner, engaged in the pursuit of an honourable trade, is entitled to its protection, it will visit with condign punishment others of an opposite character.

I invite your attention to existing laws for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and recommend all such alterations as may give to them greater force and efficacy. That the American flag is grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations, is but too probable. Congress has not long since had this subject under its consideration, and its importance well justified renewed and anxious attention.

DONATIONS TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The following have been received during the past month, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

	Dons.			Subs.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Taylor, William, New Ormond Street				2	2	0
Richmond—Tredgold, J. H.				1	1	0
Fordingbridge—Neave, Josiah				1	0	0
Wotton Bassett—Mackness, Mr.				1	0	0
Croydon—Everett, Ann				1	1	0
Southwark Ladies' Negro Friend and Anti-slavery Society	12	0	0			
Sudbury—Friends at, per William Bass	2	10	0			
Olney—Bell, Sheppard				3	0	0
„ Clarabut, T.	0	2	6			
„ Harris, John				0	10	0
„ Killingworth, John	0	5	0			
„ Killingworth, William	0	5	0			
„ Killingworth, Thomas	0	5	0			
„ Langley, —, LL.D.	0	5	0			
„ Langley, Mrs.	0	5	0			
„ Longland, G.	0	3	0			
„ Old, James				0	10	0
„ Palmer, Mary	0	2	6			
„ Smith, A. H.				3	0	0
„ Smith, Elizabeth				0	10	0
„ Swannell, William (Weston)	0	5	0			
„ Toon, John	0	2	6			
„ Vairne, J., (Independent minister)	0	5	0			
„ Whitlock, James	0	2	6			
From the Standing Committee of the Society of Friends	800	0	0			
North Shields Ladies' Association	12	0	0			
Pontefract—Barker, Francis				1	1	0
Jamaica—Mount Hermon, Jericho and Springfield Baptist Churches.	30	0	0			
Leicester—Burgess, Thomas				1	0	0
„ Ellis, John	5	0	0			
Exeter—Sparkes, Sarah				1	1	0
„ Rachel Sparkes				1	1	0
„ Sparkes, Thomas T.				0	10	0
Devizes—Anstie, G. W.				2	2	0
Sheffield—H. J.	2	0	0			
Driffield—Anderson, D.	20	0	0			
Cheltenham—Ladies' Anti-slavery Association						
„ A Friend	0	10	0			
„ Agnew, Miss				1	1	0
„ Ditto (Collecting Card)	0	12	6			
„ Baker, Miss				0	10	0
„ Ball, Mrs.				1	0	0
„ Banner, Mrs.				0	10	0
„ Barrett, Mrs.				0	10	0
„ Capper, Rev. D.	0	5	0			
„ Capper, Mrs.				1	1	0
„ Dolbell, Mrs.	0	10	0			
„ Flower, Hon. Mrs.	1	0	0			
„ Gardener, Mrs.				1	0	0
„ Greig, Miss				0	5	0
„ Ditto (Collecting Card)	0	14	0			
„ Hopper, Mrs.	1	0	0			
„ Lewis, Mrs.				1	1	0
„ Lindsey, Mrs.	0	10	0			
„ Monro, Mrs.				1	1	0
„ Newman, Mrs.				1	0	0
„ Oldham, Mrs.	1	0	0			
„ Ormsby, Mrs.				0	10	0
„ Owen, Mrs.	0	5	0			
„ Reynell, Mrs.				1	0	0
„ Reynell, Miss				1	0	0
„ Seward, Miss	0	10	0			
„ Underwood, Mrs.				0	10	0
„ Wallace, Mrs.	1	0	0			
„ Yerbury, Miss				1	1	0

(Of the above amount £13 13s. has been received, the difference is the expense incurred in printing, &c. by the Cheltenham Ladies' Association.)

Chelmsford—Christy, Thomas, (Broomfield) 10 10 0
Derby—Evans, William, M.P. 100 0 0

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